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favor German enterprise, but the government itself shows marked discrimination, both at home and abroad, in favor of German competitors. Even German courts (p. 182-183) have not regarded a foreigner as having many rights when they conflicted with the interests of German citizens.

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### HOXIE'S TRADE UNIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup>

THE outstanding contribution which Hoxie makes to the study of unionism is psychological. He brushes aside, or rather, reduces to a secondary position, the economic interpretations, whether those of the productionists based on the evolution of tools and machinery, or those based on the evolution and extension of competitive markets. He turns to such non-industrial factors as the social environment of ideas and the subjective differences of temperament. The merely economic interpretations, he holds, may indicate an orderly succession of unionism from one stage of industry to later stages, but the psychological — or as he calls it, the functional — analysis of unionism gives contradictory group interpretations, pluralistic rather than monistic. The underlying group psychology, which differs so widely for different groups, springs from the political, religious, traditional, educational, circumstances into which individuals are thrown and from their own attitudes and aims. Consequently different functional types exist at the same time within the same structural types and in the same economic environment.

The functional classification which he tentatively proposes, distinguishes the four main types of "business" unionism,

<sup>1</sup> Hoxie, Robert Franklin, "Trade Unionism in the United States," Appleton, 1917, pp. 426.

"uplift" unionism, revolutionary, and "predatory" unionism. Two varieties of revolutionary unionism are the socialistic and quasi-anarchistic. Two varieties of the predatory are the "hold-up" and the "guerilla" unionism. This classification is functional, or psychological, because it turns on aims, viewpoints, interpretations, policies, and methods of unions and their members. And these different functional types contend for domination within the same union. Certain of them dominate one union, certain dominate other unions, under similar conditions.

This emphasis on the psychological differences comes most usefully into play when Hoxie takes up the matter of social control. From the mechanical, or economic, standpoint social classes are defined in terms of wealth, occupation, source of income; from the psychological standpoint, according to beliefs and attitudes, which make them see alike or differently. The two bases of classification are not identical, and the former merely gives us a knowledge of conditions and problems, while the latter tells us both what can and ought to be done to improve conditions and solve problems. "If we are to guard and guide the ethical standards of the nation . . . we must know the springs of action of the functional groups which compose it."

After considering, from this functional standpoint, the solutions of the classical economists and both the Marxian and the Veblen socialists, Hoxie works out principles of social control based on maxima and minima within which "we shall apparently have to allow the warring groups to fight out the contest" but which will provide progressively better conditions.

It is in his treatment of the manifold complexities of trade unionism resulting from psychological, mechanical, economic, and governmental influences, that the value of Hoxie's book as a textbook is to be found. The ideal textbook for undergraduates in political economy is usually considered to be one in which the subject is laid out systematically, with plenty of facts and description, well organized, proportioned, and pre-digested. This hand-me-down method of teaching is perhaps

adopted because teachers are not expected to know the subject through their own researches, and can only pass it on from the manufacturer to the consumer.

But Hoxie's is the dig-it-up method. The teacher is an investigator along with his students. The prospect may seem alarming to teachers accustomed to the usual textbooks, and they will think perhaps that Hoxie is proposing a course for graduates instead of undergraduates. But I am confident that, if they will study carefully the appendices to this book, on "methods" and "thinking out the significance of facts," they will find that his method is not only correct but feasible.

The weakness of the hand-me-down method is recognized in the demand for "collateral readings," books of sources and the like, which give the student something to think about in addition to reciting on the text. Instead of collateral readings, Hoxie has very complete instructions to teachers how to secure and use the sources themselves — constitutions, by-laws, trade agreements, papers, interviews — for both employers and unions. With these obtained in proper proportions by each member of the class, Hoxie sets them to digging out their significance.

He shows the great complexity of unionism, and helps to get out of the maze by his classification of "structural" and "functional" types. He runs this down till he finds the "essence" of unionism and the interpretation of types. Then, to give the proper setting and connect unionism with the economic and political conditions, he gives, not an "historical narrative," but an historical analysis of the union types as they succeeded each other in adaptation to conditions. This leads to very real and vivid contrasts between revolutionary and evolutionary unionism — I. W. W., syndicalism, railway brotherhoods, American Federation of Labor, Knights of Labor, and so on. Employers' associations are treated in the same way.

Then come the fundamental concepts of the law, and the conflict of its individualism with the collectivism and group psychology of unionism, and this connects the attitude of employers as contrasted with that of unions. The whole is

focused on the ever-recurring conflict over "efficiency," and here Hoxie's studies of scientific management have put him in position to define the issues. Finally the union movement is resolved into an analysis of social classes, class struggle, and the contrasts, especially between the socialist position, the classical economist's, the business man's position, and the "progressive-uplift" position. All leads up to the great problem of social control, and a "constructive social program."

No student or teacher, after following this book and method, will have a ready-made solution for different kinds of unionism, something that will be upset when he comes to dealing with a strike or a proposed compulsory arbitration law. But he will have a thoroughly critical attitude towards every allegation of fact; a determination to go after the first-hand sources of information; a capacity to handle and interpret the sources; a live sense of the relation of the facts to the world problem of modern industry and politics.

In fact, the book seems to me, notwithstanding the lack of artificial systematizing and pruning which Hoxie might have felt constrained to adopt had he lived to see it through the press, superior to any other in the way of getting the teaching profession into the ideal notion and method of teaching.

JOHN R. COMMONS.